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POLITICS

The Tactics of the Communist International.

By G. Zinoviev.

The decisions of the Third World Congress of the Communist International are being interpreted in every possible way. Not only opponents but even certain of our friends have still to understand the significance of the Third Congress. And yet all Communists must clearly comprehend the rôle and significance of the Third Congress and its position in the fight for the emancipation of the world proletariat in order to be able to intelligently take part in the present struggle.

The importance of the work of the Third Congress lies in the fact that the Communist International has adapted its tactics to a new situation. The Communist International follows the same general path as before. But it must take into account new obstacles; where it is necessary, it slackens its pace, avoids the abysses, to-day retreats in order to better organize the attack for the morrow, holds back the advance guard where the main body of the army is too far to the rear.

The organization impulse has, in the two years of the existence of the Communist International, without any doubt grown enormously. There is no doubt that the communist parties in 1921 represent a greater organized force than in 1919. But the masses' impulse of spontaneity in the struggle, the unconquerable, elemental impetus of exaltation has become weaker in these two years. The enemy has grown stronger during this period; the bourgeoisie has consolidated its forces, has organized.

It has recovered from its disintegration of the after-the-war period, has regrouped its forces and again faces us as a serious, in certain places, threatening opponent. The social-democrats, supporters of the Second and the 2½ Internationals, have, during 1919-1921, done all in their power to make possible the bourgeoisie's consolidation. In the period when the the bourgeoisie was helpless, during the months when the capitalist leaders were trembling in every limb, when the bourgeois parties were swaying like reeds in the wind, almost everything was dependent on the subjective factor, on the degree of the working-class' preparedness, on the revolutionary will and decision of its parties and trade-unions. In these decisive moments the social-democrats of the Second and 2½ Internationals threw all their weight into the scale-pan of the bourgeoisie. On account of that we will only be able to attain that which we could have won in 1919 with a single blow, by the expenditure of enormous efforts. On account of that the Third Congress of the Communist International had to adapt its tactics to the new conditions.

No step must be taken at the present time which permits the enemy to exercise his influence upon the working masses! Capitalism is ruling today with the assistance of the yellow trade-unions, with the assistance of Amsterdam and of the Second and 2½ Internationals. For that reason, if for no other, the trade-unions must be conquered and freed from the influence of the "yellows". The quicker the intensification of the general revolutionary crisis, the easier will it be for us to pass to the final decisive conflict.

The new tactics of the Communist International are characterized by the following:

To the masses ... down into the depths of the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses. Participation in the minor daily strugg-

les, even if carried on for the most insignificant improvement of the standard of living. Participation in all workers' organizations from the workers' councils to the athletic clubs and musical societies. Persevering propaganda for the ideas of the dictatorship of the proletariat in all these organizations. *Conquest of the majority of the working-class for Communism. Systematic, determined, and persistent preparation of the working masses for the coming struggles. Careful work in the creation of illegal organizations. Patient, indomitable work for the arming of the workers. The establishment of strong, independent communist parties, purified of opportunists, centrists and semi-centrists. Above all ... Conquest of the trade-unions.*

The Third Congress in its further development of the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International wanted to say this and only this. The Third Congress was able to draw the necessary practical conclusions from the changed situation and it adapted the tactics of the communists to the new conditions. It was able to call and prepare the parties for positive work corresponding to the altered circumstances. That was its great significance.

Before the Congress, the labor movement of the whole world was in a very difficult and complicated position. The communists must always clearly give themselves account of the complications in a given situation in order to find new methods of contact with the masses. Instead of doing this the impatient "left" is acting in a manner that threatens to destroy the entire built-up organized party apparatus, without through their activities drawing the masses to them. On the contrary, through this procedure the danger arises that the masses may eventually be driven into the camp of the social-patriots and centrists.

The Third Congress of the Communist International was unconditionally duty bound to correct these errors and, in so much as it was unavoidable, to fight the "left" tendency determinedly. A number of comrades, among them the leaders of the VKPD. (German United Communist Party), have, no doubt, made only one mistake: they falsely estimated the situation. In so far as they do not persist in their error and openly give up the false "Theory of the Offensive" (and we have all the reason in the world to maintain that a rather important number of the German comrades have really disavowed this error), the matter can be considered as settled and it only remains for the Communist International to turn to account and draw the lessons from these mistakes. But as long as there are comrades and groups of comrades in Germany (the group of comrade Maslow) and probably in other countries who raise these committed errors to the level of a theory and make of it a pearl of creation, who persist in this "leftism", the Communist International will be constrained to carry on the most determined struggle against this tendency, which is very analogous to Russian Otzovism. In general the international working-class is without doubt at present experiencing a pause between two revolutionary waves. The elemental mass uprising, which began at the end of the imperialistic war and shook Europe for two years, has at the present time here and there come to a standstill. At all events, it has taken on new forms. In a number of countries the bourgeoisie has gone over to the offensive against the workers. Bourgeois reaction at its worst is now raging. Fascism, the Orgech and similar White Guard bourgeois organizations will, of course, not save capitalism from destruction, but the necessary antecedents for the formation and flourishing of these organizations were not present previously and have only now arisen, when the strengthened bourgeoisie has put us here and there on the defensive.

Of course, this does not mean that the revolution is over, as Hilferding and Co. think; it does not mean that 1919-1920 was the highest point of the revolutionary movement and that we now face a period of quiet, in which the workers must employ the moderate trade-union, or what amounts to the same thing, social-democratic tactics. Not at all. In 1908-09 the Stolypin reaction in Russia reached the climax of its success. The Mensheviks predicted that the revolution was over, that, in order to fight a constitutional monarchy, we should become a moderate, reliable, stylish, European social-democratic party. We Bolsheviks were fighting the left tendency, but we did not forget for a moment that the tasks set by the revolution of 1905 were not yet liquidated, that new combustible material was accumulating, and that social evolution was unavoidably bringing on the new revolution, which would be much more powerful than that of 1905.

We now see the same process on an international scale. The German Social-Democracy has issued the draft of a new program which clearly demonstrates that the German Social-Democracy has openly transformed itself from a socialist party into a bourgeois democratic party of peaceful reform. The German Social-Democratic "leaders", born blind, carefully avoid even the words "class-struggle" in the draft of their new program. They fear the class-struggle as the devil the sign of the cross. They are firmly convinced that the bourgeoisie has completely overcome all the difficulties of the after-the-war period, and that the bourgeois regime will rule for another hundred years and will become more and more "reformed" and "democratic". The German Independent Social-Democracy and the entire 2½ International, inspired by it, proceeds from the same standpoint. When Crispien at the Halle Congress compared the present-day situation with that of Europe in 1849, he desired to say that, as at time, the revolutionary movement of to-day reached its final conclusion in 1919. The Italian reformists and Serrati have exactly the same opinion. The question is here presented in a manner that in many ways reminds one of the attitude of the Russian Mensheviks during the above-mentioned years of reaction. Martov and Dan at that time put the question, "what are we experiencing — 1847 or 1849?" Without an instant's hesitation they answered, "1849, of course". 1847 meant to them the instant just before the beginning of the revolution; 1849, the end of the revolution. The Bolsheviks were mistaken in their estimation of the tempo, as they conjectured that the new revolution would begin much sooner than in reality it did. No one could know that the counter-revolution in Russia after 1905 would last a complete decade. The Bolsheviks could not exactly predict if the then uncertain equilibrium would last 2 or 4 or 10 years. As Marxists, however, they could foresee, and did foresee that the second revolution was unavoidable. In this connection they were in the right when they disavowed the "Hypothesis of 1849".

We see the same thing now. Since we are no prophets, none of us can say exactly how many months or years will pass before the victory of the proletarian revolution in the first of those important countries which really determine the fate of the World Revolution. One thing, however, we know exactly, and the new analysis of Europe's economic situation at the Third Congress has again completely convinced us of it:

The revolution is not over. We are not very far distant from the period in which new conflicts will begin, which will shake Europe and the whole world in a much greater degree than the sum total of all previous struggles.

On the basis of the most moderate analysis of all the principal factors in its development, the Third Congress of the Communist International came to the unshaken conclusion that the Revolution is not very far off. . . .

In the flourishing period of the counter-revolution in Russia, during 1907-1911, the Bolsheviks said, "The objective situation is much more revolutionary. The problems of the revolution are not yet solved". Our principal canon, our leading star, upon which our entire program, all our tactics were based, was the inevitability of a new revolution. At the present time there exists an uncertain equilibrium. But just because of that, because the new revolution is inevitable, we, the party, we, the advance guard of the working-class, throw our entire weight in the scale-pan of the revolution. Sooner or later, our scale-pan will become heavier and we will win.

The problem on an international scale was stated in this manner by the Third Congress of the Communist International. Anyone who, even in the slightest degree, renounces the idea of the new revolution ceases to be a communist. He goes over to the camp of the Second or 2½ International. He is no longer our comrade. In this sense the struggle against the right still remains our principal one. But in order not to turn our preparation for the victorious proletarian revolution into a manner of speech, we must carry on the same battle of ideas against the "left" tendency that the Bolsheviks in their time carried on against the Otsovisists.

This comparison is not a splitting of hairs. The air is filled with the germs of Otsovisism. The Neo-Otsovisism had to arise in such a difficult, painful period as that which the international labour movement is now passing through. Only when the most advanced section of the communists will be in a position to draw the necessary conclusions from the lessons of the past, will we, as it were, be able to reduce the overhead costs and diminish the internal conflict in the Communist International.

This, and only this, is what the Third Congress of the Communist International meant by its struggle against the so-called "left". When comrade Høglund (in the "Politiken", No. 149) writes that the Executive of the Russian Communist Party represented a "moderate" tendency at the Third Congress, that the "main thought of this tendency is, in short, that the world revolution will be a long-lasting period of revolutionary struggles and that our tactics, because of this, will have to be adapted to a rather long period and must not be based on the expectation of a revolution in the immediate future", he mingles the correct with the incorrect. Even before the victory of the Russian Revolution the communists knew that the world revolution will be a long-lasting period of revolutionary struggles; the Zimmerwald Left had already said that in 1915. As far as this is concerned, we do not need to accommodate ourselves all over again to a longer period. The estimate of this period's length can remain as before.

The Italian Socialist Congress.

by U. Ferracini.

The predictions with the Italian Communists had made concerning the results of the Milan Congress, came true with admirable precision: no expulsion, no split, an enormous majority for the Serrati group, for the unity-maximalists, an actual triumph for the avowed reformists. The evolution of the Italian Socialist party towards the right is proceeding in accelerating tempo, while the working masses, after having crossed the border of deepest depression, are beginning to reorganize their ranks in order to find their bearings.

Let us establish this characteristic fact: until very recently the Socialist Party was incapable of giving direction to and leading the proletariat; it was always towed by the masses whose spontaneity alone was the deciding factor in every situation.

To-day, when conditions in general have fundamentally changed, and the revolutionary flame is almost extinguished, to-day the Socialist Party actually begins to function as a political party in that it assumes the initiative to action. But its action at present tends completely toward the creation of a situation which would favor a coalition with the bourgeois parties. The spokesman of the unity-maximalists in Milan was the deputy Baratonos, who, shortly before the Third Congress of Moscow, withdrew from the party executive, because his proposal to exclude the leaders of the right wing was rejected. In Milan he sponsored the unity of all factions, and absolutely declined to consider the possibility of excluding the reformists, whom he considered necessary for the party.

On their arguments he and the other Maximalists took great pains not to repel or insult the "Rights", who succeeded in making the Left give up its revolutionary program, by constantly threatening to secede and form its own political group.

The reformists, on the other hand, found in Milan that freedom of self-expression, which for ten years was denied them, that is, since 1912, when the Socialist party, in Reggio Emilia, made a complete break with the coalitionists. So it happened that in Bologna, Turati had to break off his speech when one of his witty allusions to the Russian revolution, fired the delegates with indignation. In Livorno, he alluded with ironic glee to the fall of the Maximalists, his audience remaining quiet and silent. In Milan, Turati was unanimously appointed leader of the entire party, accompanied by storms of applause and enthusiastic embraces.

The main topic under discussion was collaboration with the bourgeoisie. While the Maximalists theoretically rejected it, although they recognized the necessity for concessions and compromises, the coalition found spirited advocates in the reformist group. Deputy Modigliani, for instance, a very clever and polished speaker, took up a whole session of the congress, in developing the plan for a possible alliance with the most compliant bourgeois parties. This he did so precisely, that his speech may be taken as the beginning of a definite decision. When Serrati, however, fearing that he had miscalculated, attempted to erase the deep impression which Modigliani had made, with a garrulous speech of his, Turati tore the Maximalists to shreds with his biting irony, amid jokes and laughter.

The centrists whose only program was Unity at any price, swung to the right, and supported the coalitionists with all their speakers, as soon as they saw that, due to the convulsive fears

which hovered over both of the extreme wings lest a split take place, unity was no longer endangered.

The small band which returned from Moscow, Maffi, Lazzari and Riboldi, who bitterly fought for joining the Third International, proved an easy target for all sides, since its members who only a few months before were fighting in the centrist ranks, lacked all knowledge of Communist doctrines.

The Milan Congress was of a wholly anti-communistic character; the delegates of foreign communist parties were received with deafening shouts and their speeches with the most disgraceful insults. Unworthy interruptions continually met Klara Zetkin's words, and the most shameful disturbances interrupted the delegate of the Third International, Valetzki, against whom the same scandal was brought into play as against Kabachieff in Livorno.

Friedrich Adler, the president of the 2½ International, on the other hand, was a guest of honor, received with enthusiasm and regarded with admiration, except by a small radical group. The Maximalists, Centrists and Reformists came unanimously to his defense.

At the end of six long sessions, after the voting over the various resolutions had taken place, and with the other questions that come before it still hanging fire, the Milan Congress adjourned; a Maximalist victory and withdrawal from the Third International.

These two results are absolutely contradictory to each other. The Maximalist movement had obtained its great influence in the past only because it had acted as the standard-bearer of the Third International, and because it represented the latter's Theses and Resolutions.

The break with Moscow thus discloses the deception of revolutionary gestures which were to hide Reformist reality.

The Maximalist victory has this significance: that the daily counter-revolutionary activities of the Italian Socialist Party will be continued behind a barrage of demagoguery and intransigence; that open collaboration with the bourgeoisie and entrance into the government will be postponed for a few months. Besides, the Reformists, in their resolution, had not asked for an immediate forming of a cabinet in which Socialists would be represented. Scenting such a possibility in the near future, however, they wished the congress to give the Parliamentary group a free hand. The fact that the Reformist resolution was voted down does not necessarily mean that the party has thus blocked this scheme. Besides, at the very time that the majority of the Socialist Congress decided for intransigence the union leaders, in full accord with the party leaders, took a friendly attitude toward coalition in the question of wage-reductions. The union leadership proposed the appointment of committees, which the employers, the workers and the government would be represented. These committees, avoiding all conflicts would fix the conditions in a particular industry, and order wage-reductions where the employer's income warranted such action.

As is clearly to be seen, it is the triumph of the idea of reconstruction of the ruined economic situation, in fullest accord with the capitalist class. That idea has been advocated by Turati since 1918, when at the end of the war the workers' parties were confronted with the question: Capitalist or Communist Reconstruction?

The Italian Socialist party is definitely lost to the revolutionary cause and the Third International; neither can the Lazzari-Maffi group, which remains in the party, be trusted. Without really differing from the Maximalists as far as their program is concerned, they feel their ties with the party too strongly, for them to take a clear, militant stand.

To have heard the disgraceful insults which were thrown at Constantin Lazzari during the sessions of the congress (the mildest one being: "Old fool!"), all because of his demand for the exclusion of the reformists, and then, a few days after the adjournment of the same Congress to have read the announcement in "Avanti" of a meeting which was to celebrate the Unity of the party, and then to have seen Constantin Lazzari appear as the official speaker of the party, to know this episode is to appreciate the value of the Left Opposition in the Socialist party.

Due to the numerical victory of the Maximalists, the entrance of the Socialist party into the government will be postponed for some time to come. It was thus shown that the Socialist party still hesitates to play its new rôle on the political stage. However, the Maximalists were unable to meet Turati's and Modigliani's program of action with anything but a rejection which is devoid of any practical value. Since the present situation demands of every political party clear decision, and not passivity and irresolution, it is certain that the entire Socialist movement will fall under the direction of the Reformists.

A note of interest: Paul Levi arrived in Italy at the beginning of the Milan Congress.

The Fight against Communism in Poland.

By L. Georges (Warsaw).

The recent election-results of the Polish Communist party, and the numerous workers' demonstrations, which led to an overwhelming victory of the Communist speakers over the Socialist members of parliament, were such a surprise to the Polish bourgeoisie, that the entire yellow press suddenly raised a cry for special laws and extraordinary precautions against the Communists. The national-democratic land and factory-owners, the representatives of the rich peasantry, and the petty-bourgeois P.P.S. leaders, found themselves suddenly confronted by the small peasantry and working masses, and without hesitating, they joined forces in order to ward off the Red danger by legal and illegal means. At once a secret memorandum was sent by the Minister of Justice to all public-prosecutors and judges, who were directed to alter the method of fighting communist propaganda by treating the latter not as a revolutionary philosophy, but as a common-law crime, against which the paragraphs of the Czarist code must be strictly applied. On the 19th October, the legal commission of the Sejm (Parliament) decided to present the following motion to the house:

"The Sejm recommends to the government that it order its public authorities and public-prosecutors, to prosecute any and all communist propaganda directed against the state in a most energetic manner, and to severely punish same on the ground of the existing RUSSIAN, PRUSSIAN and AUSTRIAN laws."

The government was asked therein why it had not proceeded against the Communist members of Parliament, Dombal and Lawzuski, who in the public eye were guilty of high-treason; the government's indulgence was causing great unrest.

The anti-communistic persecutions which had been raging without interruption since 1918, broke out with redoubled energy. The Socialist blood-hounds became the best assistants to the political police. The first victims were the comrades who lately left the P.P.S. and joined the K.P.P. It is against these that the P.P.S. leaders are particularly enraged.

The communist workers were listed by name in the Socialist press, in order that they fall prey to the police. Then it was proclaimed that the workers had driven out the bolshevik mercenaries, and had come back to the P.P.S. Numerous arrests were made: in the coal-mine district Dombrowa Chrzanow, in the industrial center Rodom, where the railroad and metal-workers were brutally treated, in Krakow, in the Galician cities Przemyśl, Krasno and Jaslo, in Lodz, Lublin and Posen. In Warsaw the union head quarters were shut, everywhere the radical unions are broken up and their leaders arrested. Hundreds of comrades are again feeling the Russian, Austrian and Prussian lash, and when no sufficient evidence can be gathered against them, they must nevertheless spend months and years in prison without trial.

All this however does not satisfy the capitalist press. The arch-reactionary sheet "Rzeczpospolita" of the 13th October writes in its correspondence from Sosnowitz the following:

"Unfortunately one is not arrested in Poland because of one's communist activities. It is natural therefore, that as a result of the inactivity of the authorities, and a highly developed Communist Propaganda, an occurrence as terrible as that of the sick-benefit elections was made possible. The communist "Jazecki" (nuclei) exist not only in every mine, factory and foundry, but also in every small undertaking, however small, in every institution, almost in every house."

Still more unrelenting persecutions and extraordinary laws are awaiting us. In its blind rage, the Polish bourgeoisie seeks to torture the communist movement out of existence through persecution and imprisonment.

The Polish bourgeoisie seems to think that the best way to strangle the communist movement is to gag the communist and revolutionary press, to arrest its editors, and to confiscate every revolutionary book which is printed without the legal stamp "P.P.S.". All this however will be of no avail. In place of the arrested comrades new champions arise, in place of every confiscated newspaper two new ones appear, which reach out into the farthest factories and line up the workers in the Revolutionary Front of Communism.

ECONOMICS

The World Shipping-Crisis.

by E. Ludwig (Berlin).

A statistics-table in the London "Economist" on the evolution of freight-rates gives some indication of the acuteness of the

world shipping-crisis in which the world-crisis in general is most clearly reflected. This table gives information concerning the weekly freight-rates for corn, meat and fat-products, cotton, cotton-seed and wheat flour shipped from Atlantic ports of the United States to ports of Great Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, the Scandinavian countries and ports of the Mediterranean. Setting January 1920 at 100 the shipping of freight appears to take the following course.

From Atlantic Ports of the United States to:

1920	Great Britain	France	Netherlands and Belgium	Skandinavia	Mediterranean	Entire Europe
January	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
April	90.2	87.2	78.9	82.7	72.2	83.5
July	96.0	85.6	82.1	82.0	75.3	86.3
October	94.9	68.9	70.9	75.3	69.6	75.4
1921						
January	60.1	30.2	34.1	42.9	43.2	43.3
February	54.7	27.7	29.2	30.9	43.8	38.5
March	49.3	24.6	28.3	30.8	42.2	35.9
April	50.1	32.6	36.6	29.4	35.7	39.0
May	50.6	35.0	38.2	31.3	34.6	40.1
June	42.7	34.7	38.3	31.3	34.0	37.6

Except for a few fluctuations partly caused by the English miner's strike, the freight-rates have fallen steadily. It appears that this set-back has continued in August and September. The Hamburg "Industrie- und Handelszeitung" for September 26 gives the information that the world freight-market is as depressed as ever and that the supply of ship-space exceeds the demand by far. The London "Times" recently announced that in view of the depressed commercial situation the English shipping-firms had decided to lower the rates on freight bound for South America, by 10 shillings a ton for ordinary freight, and 20 shillings a ton for more valuable freight.

The causes of this crisis are on the one hand the general world economic crisis—the dullness of the market and the lessening of production which naturally lessens world-traffic. On the other hand, adding to the acuteness of the first cause and to the intensity of the world-crisis, there is the development and the impetus given by the War to the merchant-fleets of single capitalist countries. The United States stepped into the place left vacant by the destruction of the German fleet during the War. The submarine-war and America's superior economic, political, and finally military position, has, as a result of the increasingly violent governmental demand for cargo-space, directed the capitalist productive forces of the United States towards shipbuilding, and has made it the greatest ship-building country in the world. From 1917 to 1920 the United States has built no less than 10,500,000 tons of shipping.

The following summary gives information concerning the size of the merchant fleets of the most important sea-powers, in 1914, 1920 and 1921:

	1914	1920	1921
Great Britain	18,892,089	18,111,000	19,320,053
United States (ocean ships)	2,069,637	12,406,000*	13,511,142
Japan	1,708,368	2,996,000	3,354,806
France	1,922,286	2,963,000	3,298,792
Germany	5,135,000	419,000	654,407

The position of Germany which has dropped from second to thirteenth place, has been taken by the United States, whose share of the world's merchant marine is 23 % instead of 4 % as before the War. As a result of the growth of the American marine England's portion of the world's merchant marine has dropped from 42 % in 1916 to 34 % in 1921.

The world's total tonnage in July 1921 amounted to 54,000,000 tons, that is, 11,000,000 tons more than in 1914.

The fall in freight-rates is the immediate result of the increasing supply of cargo-space at a time of world-crisis. Instead of a freight-market expanded through the War, the increased productive forces of the world's shipping-industry have met with a market reduced and wasted by the War. The result is an oversupply of cargo-space and a reduction in freight on the one hand, and the lessening of shipbuilding on the other. The decrease in freight, which very often is so great that the coal necessary for the voyage is scarcely earned, has led to the tying up of a large percentage of the world's shipping. About 8 to 11 million tons of cargo-space, that is, an amount equal to the increase since 1914, have been withdrawn from traffic as unprofitable.

The set-back in ship-building is shown by the lengthening of the time necessary to build a ship. Whereas in 1913 about 23 % of the tonnage begun was completed, the proportion had fallen to 13 % in 1920 and to 8 % for the first half of 1921. This set-back is seen more clearly in the reduction of building-orders. According to Lloyds', in the second quarter of 1921, 1640 ships

with a total tonnage of 6,190,000 were being built, as against 1905 ships with a tonnage of 7,086,000 in the first quarter of 1921. In the U. S. 1155 ships with a tonnage of 4,185,000 were built up to March 31, 1919; and up to June 30, 1921 only 102 more ships with a total tonnage of 717,644 were constructed. In England, however, though the increase has also been insignificant, shipbuilding has nevertheless grown in this same period from 657 ships, with a tonnage of 2,200,000 to 789 ships with a tonnage of 3,500,000. In this connection it should be remembered, however, that unlike the United States which is hindered by the high exchange value of the dollar, England builds in considerable degree for other countries, as for instance, in the second quarter of 1921, 207 ships with a tonnage of 978,752.

In Germany the world shipping-crisis has assumed one of these general phenomena in a minor form, demonstrating thereby the queer influence which the world-crisis has on the unique conditions of existence of German capital. Nowhere is the ruin, the destruction of capital so clearly seen as in the German shipping-industry. But nowhere else can one so clearly observe the ability of German capital to profit from its own ruin, and to become serious competitor in the world freight market, which is in the grip of a crisis.

With the Treaty of Versailles the German merchant-fleet ceased to exist—all big ships over 1600 tons had to be surrendered. Of the 500,000 tons remaining to Germany only 100,000 tons are suitable for the oceangoing trade.

Shipping traffic in German ports rose with the end of the blockade; in the port of Hamburg the amount of traffic has nearly attained the pre-war level. But German ships are much less in evidence than in 1914.

The two biggest shipping-firms—the Hamburg-American Line and the North-German Lloyd—have changed from independent ship-companies into dependencies and agents of the great American shipping-trusts. The Hamburg-American Line is controlled by the Harriman Trust and the North-German Lloyd until a short time ago was connected with the United States Mail Steamship Co. which collapsed as a result of the shipping crisis, and whose place been taken by the United States American Line, likewise working with the Harriman Group. This linking of the German shipping interests with those of America, by which the former gave up their independence, was nevertheless the first step in the attempt to establish new relations with world-capital. The German shipping industry has brought to the American shipping groups not only its apparatus of organization, but chiefly the cheap labour of German workmen, and with that, the opportunity for higher profits.

The second step towards the building-up of the German merchant marine was the subsidies given by the government to shipping firms. The Ebert republic has given shipping-interests 12,000,000 Marks, payable in five years, under the pretext of indemnification for the losses inflicted by the terms of the Versailles Treaty. With this money the German ship companies have begun to give orders to the ship-yards. In 1920, up to the end of August, 54 ships with a total tonnage of 275,000 were launched.

Then there is Stinnes who is creating his own merchant fleet, independent of government-aid and shipping capital. At a time of depression in the world's ship-construction he has until now built five steamers, each of 12,000 tons, for the South American trade.

Finally, German capitalists have recently been buying back more and more of the ships surrendered to the Entente. In this respect the shipping-crisis has turned out entirely favourable to German capital. As a result of the crisis the value of ships fell to such an extent that the Entente set the value of the surrendered ships at only 745,000,000 gold marks, instead of the eight milliards claimed by the German government. This low price which works to the German government's disadvantage becomes an advantage to the shipping firms; in spite of the depreciation in the value of German money they can now buy back their ships cheaper than if they had built them in Germany and with these ships they can successfully compete against Entente shipping lines. By the beginning of September 1921, 36 ships with a tonnage of 147,000 have gone back in this way to German operators. The North German-Lloyd announces now that with these ships it will start new lines to the United States and South America.

This we see the strange situation, that while the shipping of the mighty, victorious, imperialistic powers is at a standstill, the shipping firms of Germany are doing such good business that they expand from day to day. The reason for this is the low level of German wages and the shameless exploitation of German workers through the alliance of the contractors with the government.

COMMUNIST RECRUITING WEEK

The Aims of Recruiting-Week.

by Fritz Heckert.

With the motto "Go to the Masses", the Communist International summons all its members to agitate during the week of November 3rd-10th among the great masses of the urban and rural proletariat, as yet unresponsive to Communism, and to rouse them to the struggle for freedom. The Communist International is undertaking for the first time a general mobilization throughout the world, wherever proletarians are groaning under the heel of the oppressor. The workers are becoming more and more disillusioned concerning the "glorious times" promised to them in the large capitalist countries in return for their participation in the World-War adventure. The policy of the capitalist class has resulted in an overwhelming wave of unemployment, a staggering rise in the cost of living and an imperilling of the worker's existence. If the workers try to resist, if they try to organize in self-defense, if they attempt to use the strike as a weapon, if they gather in demonstrations, the bestial bourgeoisie uses every means to strike them down, and calls this assassination "Protection of Rights" and "Establishment of Order". Influential labour-leaders have not only supported these measures of the bourgeoisie, but in many countries they alone have made them possible. During our Recruiting-Week we must demonstrate to the workers that the continuation of capitalism which they have tolerated until now can only result in the ruin of the working-class and of the economic life of the world.

Our Recruiting-Week, therefore, cannot be likened to the Recruiting-Weeks of the Social Democratic Parties which are only organized to win party-members or readers for their organs. We will also do everything possible to gain new members for the Communist parties and to increase the number of subscribers to the Communist periodicals. A party-organization strong in members and a widely-spread communist press are necessary for the victory of the proletariat. The increasing of the membership cannot create, however, what the Recruiting-Week should bring about. The composition of the Communist Party must be altogether different in quality from that of the Socialist Parties. The Communist Parties are parties of action. Their members must at all hours be ready to make the greatest sacrifice for the cause of the proletariat. We can say therefore, that our Recruiting-Week depends especially on the spiritual contact of the Party with the large proletarian masses and also on the convincing of the workers remaining outside of the Party that the Communist International is their true leader.

Keeping in mind the principal aim of Communism, our propagandists must come in close contact with the masses, and in connection with the daily struggles and needs of the workers show them the way leading out of capitalist slavery into freedom. The struggle for the final aim of Communism is only organized during the general struggle against life's daily troubles. The spiritually backward proletariat is unable to realize that the struggle to free himself from these troubles leads to the overthrow of capitalism and the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat. To the ordinary workers reared in the oppressive capitalist system and lacking political opinions, the Communist aim seems so enormous that he cannot grasp it, and considers it unattainable and therefore utopian. The worker will learn to fight implacably for the Communist aim only when he realizes that, in the struggle for his existence, minor reforms cannot free him, and that he must give a larger form to the struggle for the freeing of the workers, and must use more effective means. The purpose of the Communist Party is to lead the workers in these unavoidable struggles in such a way that they will more easily find their way and suffer less defeat. In the Recruiting-Week when we speak at meetings, when we speak with our colleagues, when we go from house to house to agitate, when we write in the periodicals, we will tell our suffering and oppressed class-comrades what to do to succeed in the struggle against the troubles and needs of every day. This is not difficult. In the last few weeks the world economic crisis has become more acute in all countries, and has brought untold suffering to the working-class. The world economic crisis appears under various aspects in different countries. In one country it has been an increase of unemployment, in another the tremendous rise in the cost of living, or both. The capitalist are trying to throw the burden of this world-crisis on the workingmen. It is easy to make this clear to the workers.

When capitalist production does not bring sufficient profit, the capitalist uses every means to guard himself against loss. He throws the workers pitilessly out into the street. He raises the cost of living. He beats down salaries, and for this purpose he creates lock-outs, mobilizes strike-breakers and organizes White-Guard bands whom he permits to murder workingmen and to destroy workers' enterprises in order to intimidate the workers. The capitalist seeks to increase the hours of work or the efficiency of labor, in case wages remain the same. Protection for the workers is made impossible. The most indispensable articles are raised in price. The production of goods which do not bring big profits is stopped. We see this best in the failure to relieve the shortage in dwellings. Housing-accommodations for the lower classes are neglected. Hospitals and nurseries are closed. Invalids, pensioners, and cripples are abandoned. Through the most subtle systems of taxation a considerable part of the workman's income is stolen. In order to carry this out more easily the capitalist buys the periodicals, the newspapers, controls literary production and employs thousands of agitators to influence the workers in a manner favourable to his own interests. The capitalist strives to demoralize and to destroy the workers' organizations, especially the labor-unions. With a subtle system of swindle and lies capitalism tries to eliminate these organizations from the struggle against it. When it does not succeed in this, it tries to destroy them by means of force. Labor-leaders are bought by the capitalist, an army of spies is suborned among the working-class. Through special favours to single workingmen or groups of workers it is sought to split up the working masses. Those who are working are incited against the unemployed and vice versa. All these things can serve well in teaching the workmen. The majority of our class-comrades do not understand the relation between these things. The live through the troubles of their time, helpless; they feel as if they are astray in a primeval forest. Their perception is often warped by the organizations on whose protection they depend. This does not necessarily happen because of the malice of the leaders of these organizations. It takes place naturally because most of the unions do not grasp the situation or because they are frightened by the enormity of the task. Our agitators must bear this situation in mind. They must therefore not try to blame all these faults of the labor organizations on the criminal leadership of these organizations. The faith of the workingmen in the justice of communism will not be strengthened through an continual nagging of the workers about their troubles and their bad leadership, but rather through our armor-plated argument, through our good advice, through the intelligent proposals we suggest to them to help them in their need, in our readiness to fight at the head of the workers even in the most insignificant struggles against daily suffering.

The Recruiting-Week must also give us a better conception of the psychology of the workers. We must learn the ways they react to the troubles which press upon them. We must be able to judge the value of their arguments against our doctrines and our tactics. We must learn to find the cardinal point in the workingman's soul, and in his understanding, in order to raise him from his lethargy and to turn him from an unfeeling follower or even an enemy into an active, energetic element in the proletarian class-struggle.

The results of our Recruiting Week need not show themselves in an immediate increase in the party-membership or of subscribers of our periodicals. They must show themselves in the spirit which animates the workers in their struggles, and their reaction toward the Communist watch-words and to the directing of the struggle by our party. If there are no such results that will prove that our Party has not worked well. Will that show the deficiency of the Party itself and not the backwardness of the masses? The Recruiting-Week will be the acid test of the ability of our organization, after a unified campaign, on an national and international scale, to interest the workmen in Communism and to mobilize them for the class-struggle. The deficiencies in the organization which will be noted during the Recruiting-Week or when the results are measured, must be removed.

Every member of the Party has not only the opportunity but also the duty to show during Recruiting-Week that he has fully earned the title of Communist. Everyone must help according to his ability, and everyone can help in the great work. In the Recruiting-Week not only our own Party but the members of other workers' parties can see whether we differ from the others only in revolutionary phrases or in purposeful work. Whoever impairs the success of Recruiting-Week through idleness or bad propaganda harms this work not only immediately but permanently, because a failure of Recruiting-Week will be a triumph

to our opponents and will make our approach to the masses more difficult in the future. The aim of our Recruiting-Week is limited: We must try not only to attain this goal but to surpass it. Every man to his post.

Enter the Communist Party!

By Wilhelm Pieck.

The cleansing of its membership which the Russian Communist Party has undertaken makes it appear as if Levi and his followers were right when they charged that the Communist International laid more emphasis on the formation of a small but unblemished party, a sect, than on the building of mass parties. And an article by comrade Lenin in "Pravda" on the cleansing of the party, which was reprinted in the German party press, could easily be used to support this statement, when the difference between the Russian Communist Party and the communist parties of other countries is not pointed out.

The Russian Communist Party has become a government party and it is therefore only too natural that a large number of persons have contrived to enter its ranks who thought that they could thereby create "careers" or obtain other advantages as Soviet officials. The same experience befell the German Social-Democracy, when, through the November revolution, it became a governing party. Of course it undertook no party-cleansing, and now its leaders rely in no small degree upon the support of this infiltration from the petty-bourgeois camp. If the Russian Communist Party is now undertaking a cleansing of its ranks, it does so conscious of the fact that, in spite of the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class-struggle in Russia has not yet been decided, and that therefore the advance-guard of the revolutionary struggle, united in the party, must be kept free of any influence hostile to this struggle. That is all the more necessary since in Russia the non-Bolshevik elements have forced their way into the communist party and are attempting, by referring to the Russian economic crisis, to incite the workers against the party leadership and thereby against the Russian government. They are seeking to achieve this by apparently placing themselves upon the intellectual level of the communist worker and demanding complete democracy within the party, that is, in order to carry through their carefully deliberated plans. In Russia, under the Bolshevik government, membership in the communist party does not imply political persecution, but especial confidence, does not mean exclusion from all governmental functions, but appointment to positions of the greatest responsibility. Therefore the cleansing of the Russian party does not mean a weakening, but rather a strengthening of the worker's government, for the government's policy is decisively influenced by the party. If the petty-bourgeois and non-bolshevik elements should obtain the upper hand in the party, this would soon be noticed in the change in the policy of the government, and its fighting strength against all internal and foreign enemies of the Russian workers' and peasants' state would be seriously impaired.

The conditions in other countries where capitalism and the bourgeoisie rule unchecked are rather different. There the communist parties are the organizations in which the workers of town and country who desire the overthrow of this rule and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship are united. In these countries membership in the communist party implies persecution and oppression by the bourgeoisie, means the struggle for liberation from capitalist rule and exploitation and the readiness to make any and all sacrifices demanded by the fight. The greater the membership of the communist party, the stronger the revolutionary advance-guard, which leads the working-class in its battles, will be. Therefore the communist parties in the capitalist countries can and must include a much greater percentage of the working-class than the Russian Communist Party. They are protected against the attempts of career-seekers or petty-bourgeois elements to crowd into their ranks. Only workingmen, conscious of their class-interests, will enter the party. They will comparatively easily comprehend the ideas of Communism and revolutionary tactics and will in a short while become excellent fighters. It is therefore not correct to set up difficult requirements for workers' entrance into the communist party, in the sense that entrance is made dependent upon the possession of a certain amount of communist preparatory knowledge. It is the task of the party to impart political and scientific knowledge to the workers by enabling them to comprehend the communist conception and tactics. In order to do this the party must take the necessary steps therefor, and it will be able to carry on this education better and more quickly within its ranks than without. Of course the party must be kept clean of impure elements, but, in the majority of cases these find their way into the party in spite

of all preventative measures. It would be therefore unwise to create such difficult entrance conditions.

If the limits of the membership of the party are to be made so extensive, there follows therefrom of course the necessity of the education of a body of capable, trustworthy functionaries who are to have the leadership of the party in their hands, by influencing the resolutions of the party in a decisive manner. Only enlightened members are to be admitted to this corps. The greatest demands in the way of readiness for sacrifice and communist education are to be made of them and they must stand in the fore-front of the conflicts of the working-class. Furthermore, especial attention must be paid to the maintenance of the most rigid discipline within the party. According to experience, however, breaches of discipline occur less often among the workers than among the comrades who are no longer active as workers in the factories and have attained a position of leadership in the party. Even if it is not always necessary to proceed against such violators of discipline with exclusion from the party, nevertheless the especially strict observance of party discipline must be demanded from such comrades.

When the communist parties increase their membership, they will have members in every factory, in every workers' organization, in every village and city borough, who will have to ensure the spreading of our ideas there and thus strengthen the influence of the party in the masses. That is urgently necessary, because the intensification of the political and economic crisis is driving the working-class to struggles in which the communist party must have the leadership.

Therefore the international Communist Recruiting Week must be made a great campaign for the winning of party-members and subscribers to the party press. The slogan, "Approach to the masses" also means "Into the Communist Party". It means the party's taking root in the great working masses. Only through the Communist Party will the proletariat be able to vanquish the bourgeoisie.

HELP FOR RUSSIA

Famine and Counter-Revolution

by Boris Souvarine, Secretary of the Communist International.

The famine, which burdens the Russian people with overwhelming privations and suffering, has revived the oft frustrated hopes of the Russian and international counter-revolutionists, and has stimulated their secret and open activity against the power of the Soviets. There is nothing astonishing in that. It was inevitable, that in the struggle to the death, carried on by the reactionary world-coalition against the Russian revolution, the reaction should use all arms, and exploit without hesitation, scruple or reserve every opportunity that presented itself to deal a new blow to the Soviet regime. The Moscow government harbored no illusions in regard to this when it announced to the world the tragic news describing the situation of the regions watered by the Volga. It was constantly on its guard and it knew how to ward off the blows aimed against it by the counter-revolutionists of the interior and exterior.

The Peoples Commissary for Public Health, Semaschko, in an article in "Pravda" reprinted by the whole international communist press, has set off the contrast between the respective methods employed by the two Russian regimes which had to face great catastrophic famines. Czarism, in 1891, left the famine-stricken to perish, ringing them around in a zone of silence, censoring their despairing appeals and paralyzing all initiatives for help. Sovietism, in 1921, put forth its greatest efforts in aid for the famished, by giving the maximum of publicity to exact information on the drought and all its consequences, by calling forth, through its frank exposure of the truth, efforts for relief corresponding to the immense needs of the victims, and finally by turning the activity of all its institutions toward relief work.

The enemies of the Soviet regime have not understood the meaning or the import of this method of the Russian communists, of this method which without reserve lays bare the wounds from which Russia bleeds, in order to strike the imagination of the masses and obtain from them active solidarity. They have, according to their custom, judged their adversaries by their own way of reacting. They believed that the government which so loudly proclaimed the horrors of the situation was a disabled government, because, for them, to govern is to lie. They considered as a sign of feebleness and a symptom of an approaching end, that which in reality is a sign of power of self confidence, of confidence in the creative resources of the

masses. They have thought, "The Bolsheviks confess, therefore they are lost", forgetting that the Bolsheviks, during the four years that they have been directing the Russian proletarian government, have never stopped "confessing", that is to say, looking facts in the face, nor have ever deceived themselves as to the obstacles which encumber their road, and have never dissimulated the difficulties of their task. They believed that the hour of reaction was about to strike and their conspirative, terroristic and bellicose zeal set to work with redoubled fury.

But events have shown once more to what extent they have wrongly estimated the true situation, underestimated the vitality of the Soviet regime, and overestimated their own capacity for intervention. The Russian People does not dream of making its government responsible for the clearness of the sky and the heat of the sun's rays. In vain does the white and yellow press of Europe attribute to Lenin and Trotsky the responsibility for natural calamities, meteorological phenomena and atmospheric conditions, just as the French whites, after the Empire, attributed to Voltaire and to Rousseau everything that troubled their restored "order". The peasant of the banks of the Volga knows that Lenin and Trotsky would be unable, even if they so desired, to dry up the soil on a surface of millions of dessatines and to cut in the ground gashes which attain an arshine in depth. The Russian peasant does not read the "Cause Commune", nor the "Populaire" nor the "Journal des Debats"; this is really a pity because this reading would confirm him in his disgust with the "Whites". Instead of "Forming bands of famished millions heading for Moscow" (sic), a thing which would not moisten the ground nor revive the burnt grain, the peasants apply themselves to utilising the seeds sent by the productive provinces to the provinces turned into a desert. The less courageous, that is to say more exactly the most resigned, those most inclined towards oriental fatalism, await an unknown aid, that of Heaven or that of men; but the latter is insufficient, whereas the former intervenes only in the form of death. Hunger causes open hands to stretch out; it does not lift either clenched fist or menacing arms, regardless of what the champions of Russian "democracy" who too often take their wishes for reality may think or wish.

It is the strange destiny of the Russian Communists not to be able to utter truthful words without the reactionaries finding therein an occasion for making a mistake as to their meaning; without finding therein matter for consolation, for rejoicing, for deceiving themselves by false interpretations, without their drawing therefrom encouragement to go on with their endeavour at destruction, their cruel work of war against Russian progress incarnated in Bolshevism. Every time that the Soviet government, in the course of the wars which have been imposed upon it during four years, has proposed peace, its enemies have interpreted that as a sign of distress instead of the expression of the Communists' wish to arrest a deplorable flow of blood, futile destruction, the squandering of human forces and material wealth, and to utilise, instead, Russia's capacities for work, in creative and productive activity. In this manner, through this peculiar phenomena of repercussion, every peace proposal issued by the People's Commissaries has provoked in the reactionary camp a recrudescence of the passion for war. In the same way the appeals to the civilized world for aid to the famished, have awakened the longings for armed intervention, which for some months had been dormant. The counter-revolution, hoping to introduce, under the banner of the Red Cross, a host of spies and of allied officials, of all kinds into the beleaguered nation, made its preparations for a siege. It has made them in vain.

The Soviet government keeps watch; the Red Army keeps watch; the Tcheka keeps watch. . . . The inquiry commissions proposed by bourgeois, governmental philanthropy, that is to say, the commissions of espionage and sabotage, have been turned down with disgust. The conspiracies and machinations of the Whites are vigorously suppressed. The provocative menaces of the Poles and of others are calmly answered. The Soviet Power remains intact, is rather strengthened than lessened by the new misfortunes which have overtaken Russia. The counter-revolution ought to change its tone.

In particular, the dissolution of the Pan-Russian Commission for Aid to the Famine-Stricken is of a kind to make the Whites realize the depth of their illusions and the extent of their error. Because the communist government is always ready to accept or even to encourage the collaboration of the conquered bourgeoisie in work useful to the commonwealth, because it has tried the experiment of using bourgeois intelligence and culture in social service devoid of any political character, the enemies of Bolshevism, in their incurable blindness, have seen in its action a first step towards abdication! The Pan-Russian Committee seemed to them the real de facto government in Russia — the Official Power of to-morrow. The newspapers and different

agencies of the Russian counter-revolutionary parties at Paris, Berlin, London, Riga, Helsingfors and elsewhere have spread over the world a deluge of false news, of absurdities, of information sprung from the pure imagination of their slaves of the pen and possessing nothing in common with reality. The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois press of all countries has echoed these fantasies.

"Are they going towards a reconciliation of all parties?" wrote M. André Pievère, "specialist" in Russian affairs in the "Populaire" (what would he have written if he were not a "specialist"?), thus already forecasting the "reconciliation" of exploiters and exploited, that is to say the submission of the latter to the former. And the same ("Populaire" of August 10) "specialist" had already seen "THE DAY WHEN THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE WOULD CHASE FROM THE KREMLIN" the present leaders.

In the "Petit Parisien" Madame Louise Weiss presented Kichkin's speech at Moscow as having sounded like the words uttered under two other circumstances, on the eve of the fall of the Czar and of Kerensky's regime. . . . we quote only the comments retaining an appearance of seriousness, neglecting the buffooneries of the most enraged counter-revolutionaries. One move of the "phantom of a government" has sufficed to render the Pan-Russian Commission merely a memory and to annihilate all the hopes of the counter-revolutionaries.

The lesson has not discouraged the liars, who have overreached themselves in order to turn to account the dissolution of the Pan-Russian Committee as they always try to turn everything like this to account. Thus, M. André Pievère, already quoted, has announced in an indignant tone, rather thinly disguised, the threatening execution of Kichkin, Prokopovitch and Kouskova knowing well that these three plotters are in excellent health, awaiting their appearance before a revolutionary tribunal, which is besides rather lenient. The dirtiest of the White's sheets have decreed in reprisal the condemning to death of twenty millions of famine-stricken human beings.

These are but manifestations of powerless rage. The gentlemen of the counter-revolution will have to reconcile themselves to this idea . . . that the Soviet Republic is alive and unconquered and that it will celebrate in the near future its fourth anniversary.

Moscow, October 2nd.

IN THE CAMP OF THE ENEMY

"Fascism"

by E. Gennari.

A word or two on the development, the causes and the structure of "Fascism" in Italy.

During the war, when the military situation was unfavorable to Italy, and when the growing economic difficulties gave the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat new strength, Fascism sprang up from all the reactionary and democratic forces, in coalition with the renegades from Socialism and Syndicalism who had passed over to interventionism and even to the camp of the revolutionary movement.

At first "Fascismo" limited itself to parliamentary action and its principal field of activity was at Rome. It was responsible however for some acts of violence against men who had remained faithful to the internationalist ideal. But the principal activity of "Fascismo" consisted in pushing the government to suppression of the revolutionary movement.

After the War, when the bourgeoisie, on the verge of bankruptcy, saw itself menaced by the spirit of revolt of the proletarian masses, which like those of Russia, of Hungary and of Bavaria, saw that their only safety lay in the revolution, the officers, the petty-bourgeois youth (that is to say, the "déclassé" of the War, who feared demobilization and the resulting unemployment), the "Arditi" who had the same characteristics and the same tasks as the Fascisti of to-day formed the nucleus of bourgeois resistance.

THE ORGANISATION OF "ARDITI".—The Arditi—during the War the shock-troops—was composed partly of demobilized arms and partly of demobilized soldiers taken in hand and organized by "Big Business" (Mussolini and other renegades). The task of this organization was that of all White Guards — the defense of capitalism by means of terror. The "Arditi" sacked the workers' institutions, set fire to the "Avanti", organized attacks, threw bombs at labor-demonstrations, etc. . . . But after the 1919 elections, in which the Socialist Party triumphed, and after the proving of the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, "Arditism" was dissolved. Its central nucleus nevertheless was later to constitute the kernel of Fascism.

The cradle of Fascism was at Triest and Bologna. This is enough to explain its origin and its purposes, Triest and the "Venezia giulia" having been, even a long time after the end of the war, under military occupation, and therefore under the absolute control of militarism and of irregular bands which followed d'Annunzio in his Fiume adventure.

Bologna is one of the most important agrarian centers, where after decades of struggle the agricultural workers have, especially in 1919, won a complete victory over the landed proprietors who were forced to accept claims implying a limitation of the right of property. Face to face with the gravity of the moment, in the fear of threatening and more serious defeats, perhaps even of expropriation, the proprietors made ready for war, and organized all their forces for defense and attack.

Thus Fascism, in Italy, apart from its international white Guard aspect and from its origin — Arditism —, is the creation, the direct product of the banks and of big industry; it carries the military and agrarian stamp. And mention must also be made of the great strength which the commercial petty-bourgeoisie brings it.

Italian Fascism found a favorable environment. In the first place it was the expression of the international bourgeois reaction which was raising its head everywhere, but mainly in Hungary, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. It is not unworthy of belief that Fascism in Italy was instigated and supported by the allied Powers themselves who were organizing capitalist reaction in all Europe.

Fascism was also aided by the weariness of the proletariat after revolutionary efforts — above all after the occupation of the factories which collapsed because there was no political party capable of leading the revolution — in a word by all the errors and weaknesses which at the very beginning set up an insufficient resistance to Fascism, and in this way allowed it to develop and to spread over all Italy.

The worker's organizations which at that moment should have directed the action of the proletarian class, failed to do so. The young Communist Party and the revolutionary proletarians did not lay down their arms, however.

For the last ten months in Italy the Fascisti (supported by the police and the army) have been fighting every day against the workers. The former, well equipped, armed with guns and bombs, possessing many motor trucks, can quickly concentrate their forces in all parts of Italy and attack cities and villages according to all the rules of military warfare; the latter are poorly armed. The former march in military formation or protected by the police; and if they are repelled, the government forces intervene provided with armored motor cars and even with cannon. The workers are disarmed and imprisoned by thousands.

The actions of the Fascisti are now known to all. They destroy Communist and Socialist locals, printing houses, labour headquarters, and even the homes of revolutionary workers. They sometimes take possession of small towns. They break into houses at night to inflict the worst kinds of violence on communists, revolutionaries and their families, sometimes going as far as to assassinate — all this by mandate from the bourgeoisie and in full accord with the government.

The most characteristic action of Fascism carries the lie to the democratic bourgeois States, still defended by Socialists for whom universal suffrage remains the means for pacific conquests. By menace and violence, the Fascisti force, as a matter of fact, the dissolution of hundreds of municipal governments conquered by the Socialist Party before the split, in many cases almost by unanimous vote.

With Fascism the bourgeoisie throws off the democratic mask. Bourgeois reaction and Fascism in Italy show once more the proletariat to be on the horns of this dilemma — either to suffer under the terror and the violence of the bourgeoisie, or to exercise revolutionary violence and to establish class dictatorship. These facts show that the struggle cannot be avoided when the situation is ripe for the conflict; to try to avoid it is only to permit a reaction as pitiless as after a defeat. They also demonstrate that in retarding the proletariat in its struggles, in making it dream of compromises, of pacific conquests and pacts with the bourgeoisie, in pretending that ephemeral concessions obtained in a critical hour are real and enduring conquests, the Social-democrats are nothing more nor less than the faithful allies of the bourgeoisie, of the counter-revolutionaries, and that they well deserve the epithet — social-traitors.

The revolutionary workers of Italy who keep up their resistance and who have already written memorable pages in the history of proletarian struggles, have understood it, and they are enlisting in the new fighting formation, created by the Communist Party — the "Arditi del popolo".

Against the old "Arditism", changed now into "Fascism" we are opposing the new organization of revolutionary workers.

We believe that in spite of the cowardice and treason of the Socialist Party, in spite of the peace-treaty signed with Fascism (which has up to now only revived the criminal activity of Fascisti bands), that in spite even of the approaching attempt to create a Socialist Government, a thing which is perhaps very near, the Fascisti White Terror will always remain, in Italy, a terrible revolutionary lesson from which the masses will profit. And we are certain that the Communist Party will be able fully to accomplish its revolutionary duty.

APPEALS

To the Proletariat of Spain.

The descendants of the bloody medieval robber barons are employing the last ounce of their strength in the sanguinary suppression of the natives of Morocco. For twelve years the shooting of the natives, the war of pillage, has been going on in the Moroccan plains at the expense of the labor and blood of the Spanish proletariat.

The Spanish bourgeoisie is making no mistake when it does not spare either gold, material or human lives in the suppression of the revolting slaves. For the Spanish proletariat is supplying all that is necessary for the carrying on of the war: Money, blood and life itself. King Alphonso and his camarilla — no matter if Desallasar is at its head, if the proletarian murderers in regimentals or civilian clothes are named Cambo, Corello or Martinez-Alino — are extracting out of this war huge profits. They are exploiting the natives to the bone, they are murdering them and at the same time by the proclamation of martial law are repressing the heroic struggle of the workers with the most brutal methods of the White Terror and military dictatorship. They are assassinating and throwing into jail together with the natives the élite of the working-class and are chaining the proletarian press and the economic organizations of the workers.

The defeat which king Alphonso's stupid generals have suffered in the Moroccan uprising means a new mobilization, means that new classes will be called to the colors and sent to the shambles, that the working-class will be still further gagged and burdened with a new yoke.

Workers of Spain!

We are convinced that the Spanish proletariat is not letting the bloody reaction rule and reign unpunished or the war calmly continue. The heroic strike in Bilbao has shown that the proletarian masses are ready for the conflict and that they possess in large degree the supreme readiness for sacrifice that is necessary for the overthrow of the rule of militarism. The revolutionary proletariat of Europe is proud of its communist and syndicalist comrades in Spain who are closely united in the struggle.

The old Socialist party and the clique of leaders of the General Federation of Labor are in spite of their rhetorical masks supports of the bourgeoisie.

Spanish comrades! The Communist International and the Red Trade-Union International expect from you, who have so often demonstrated your battle-strength, deeds and not mere protests against the rapacious, Moroccan colonial war and the White Terror. In this struggle, all Spanish workers, whether Communists, Syndicalists or still under the traitorous leadership of the social-patriots, must be united. To-day, in the presence of the attacks of the brutal and inhuman patriots, capitalists and military camarilla, close your ranks shoulder to shoulder for the coming decisive struggles.

Comrades! The situation is the same all over the world. The sooner the working-class is united, the more compact its national and international organization is, the sooner will it be able to establish the dictatorship. Join the unions affiliated with the Red Trade-Union International! Work together with the Communist Party! Then will the powers that now are sending you to the African shambles be destroyed through the triumph of the proletarian revolution.

Down with the war of rapine against the Moroccans!
Long live the Communist International!
Long live the revolutionary unity of the Spanish proletariat!
Down with the White Terror!
Long live the Social Revolution!

The Executive of the Communist International.

Moscow, October 19th, 1921.